# The Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

## The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, -- That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of

people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

The 56 signatures on the Declaration appear in the positions indicated: Column 1

#### Georgia:

Button Gwinnett Lyman Hall George Walton Column 2

#### **North Carolina:**

William Hooper Joseph Hewes John Penn

#### **South Carolina:**

Edward Rutledge Thomas Heyward, Jr. Thomas Lynch, Jr. Arthur Middleton Column 3

#### **Massachusetts:**

John Hancock

#### Maryland:

Samuel Chase

William Paca

**Thomas Stone** 

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

#### Virginia:

George Wythe

Richard Henry Lee

Thomas Jefferson

Benjamin Harrison

Thomas Nelson, Jr.

Francis Lightfoot Lee

Carter Braxton

Column 4

#### Pennsylvania:

**Robert Morris** 

Benjamin Rush

Benjamin Franklin

John Morton

George Clymer

James Smith

George Taylor

James Wilson

George Ross

#### **Delaware:**

Caesar Rodney

George Read

Thomas McKean

Column 5

#### **New York:**

William Floyd

Philip Livingston

Francis Lewis

Lewis Morris

#### **New Jersey:**

**Richard Stockton** 

John Witherspoon

Francis Hopkinson

John Hart

Abraham Clark

Column 6

#### New Hampshire:

Josiah Bartlett

William Whipple

#### **Massachusetts:**

Samuel Adams

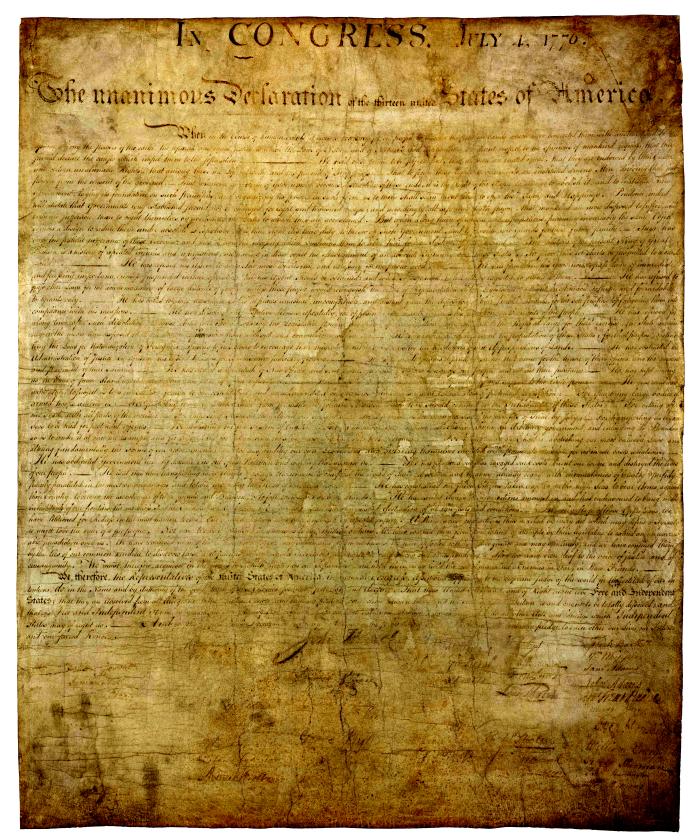
John Adams

**Robert Treat Paine** 

Elbridge Gerry
Rhode Island:
Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery
Connecticut:

Roger Sherman Samuel Huntington William Williams Oliver Wolcott

## **New Hampshire:**Matthew Thornton



The original parchment of The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

# The Constitution of the United States

**Note:** The following text is a transcription of the Constitution in its **original** form. **Items that are underscored blue have since been amended or superseded.** 

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article, I.

#### Section. 1.

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### Section. 2.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

#### Section. 3.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, <u>chosen by</u> <u>the Legislature</u> thereof for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

#### Section. 4.

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall <u>be on the first Monday in December</u>, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

#### Section. 5.

Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

#### Section. 6.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

#### Section. 7.

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States: If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

#### Section. 8.

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;--And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

#### Section. 9.

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, <u>unless in Proportion to the Census or</u> enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

#### Section. 10.

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

#### Article. II.

#### Section. 1.

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any

Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:--"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

#### Section. 2.

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

#### Section. 3.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

#### Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

#### Section. 1.

The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

#### Section. 2.

The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;— <a href="between a State and Citizens of another State">between Citizens of another State</a>,—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

#### Section. 3.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

#### Article. IV.

#### Section. 1.

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

#### Section. 2.

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

#### Section. 3.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

#### Section. 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic Violence.

#### Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

#### Article, VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

#### Article, VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the," being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, the Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erazure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

#### Attest William Jackson Secretary

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G°. Washington Presidt and deputy from Virginia

#### Delaware

Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

#### Maryland

James McHenry
Dan of St Thos. Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

#### Virginia

John Blair James Madison Jr.

#### **North Carolina**

Wm. Blount Richd. Dobbs Spaight Hu Williamson

#### **South Carolina**

J. Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler

#### Georgia

William Few Abr Baldwin

#### **New Hampshire**

John Langdon Nicholas Gilman

#### Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King

#### Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson Roger Sherman

#### **New York**

**Alexander Hamilton** 

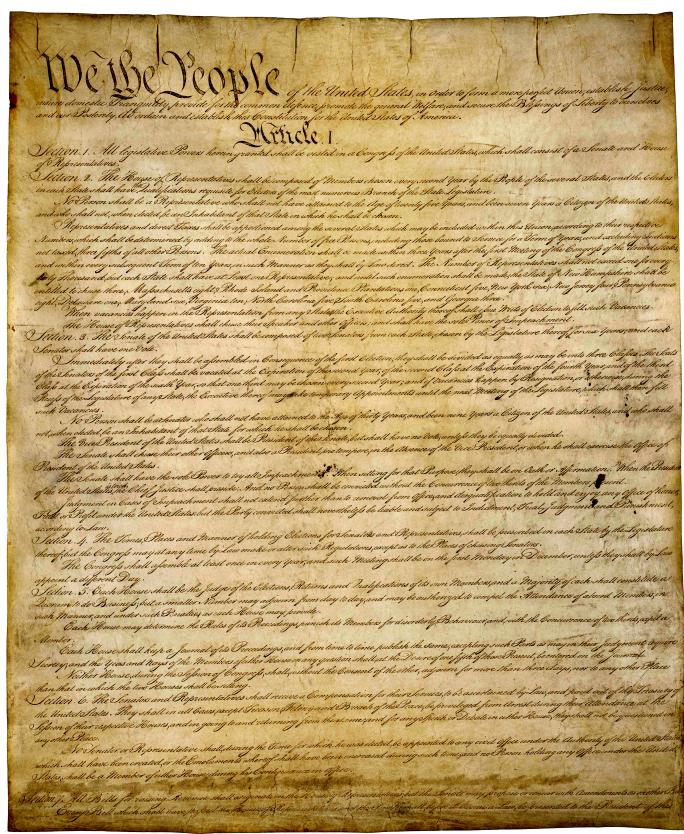
#### **New Jersey**

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley

### Wm. Paterson Jona: Dayton

### Pennsylvania

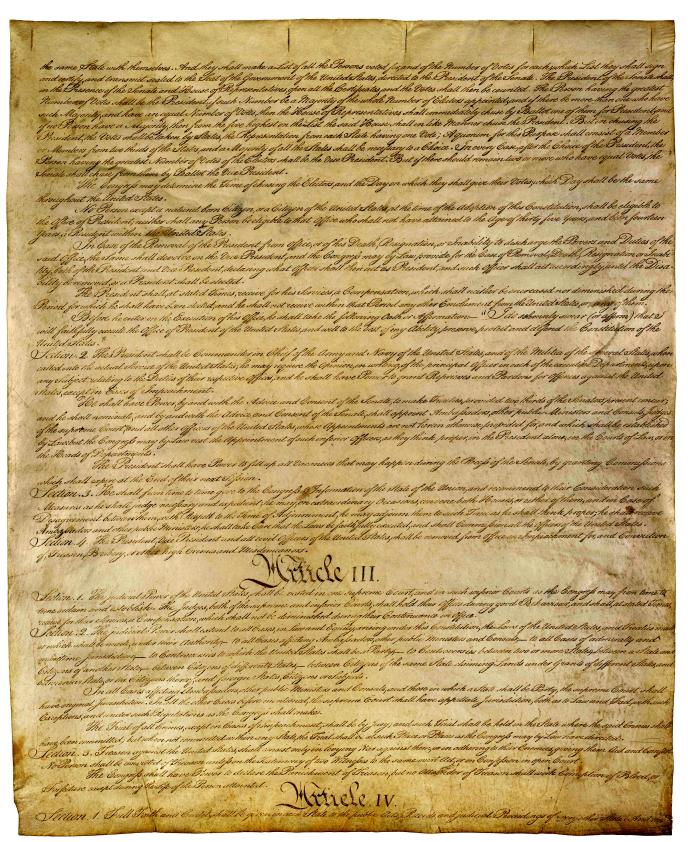
B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robt. Morris Geo. Clymer Thos. FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv Morris



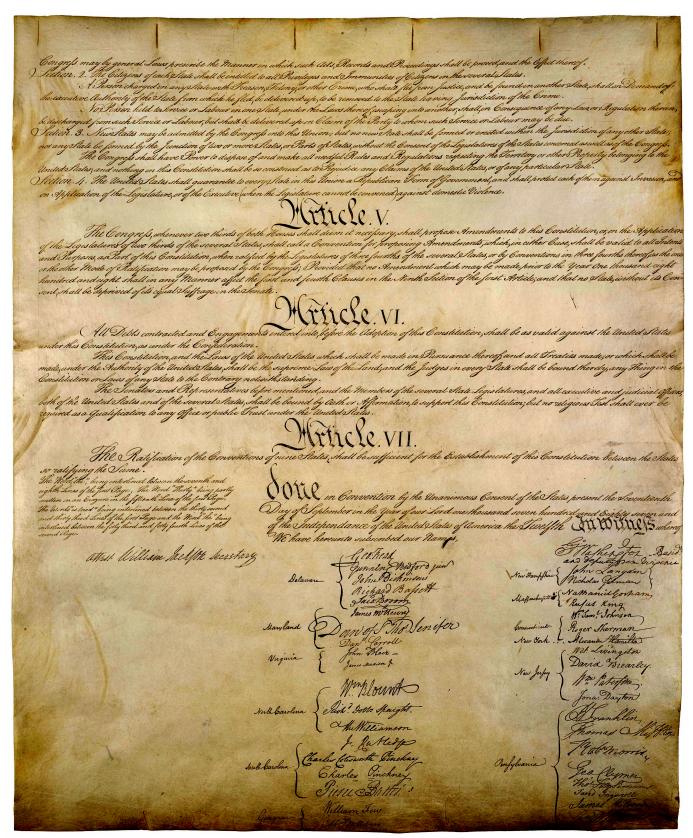
Original parchment of U.S. Constitution (1 of 4).



Original parchment of U.S. Constitution (2 of 4).



Original parchment of U.S. Constitution (3 of 4).



Original parchment of U.S. Constitution (4 of 4).

## The Bill of Rights

The Preamble to The Bill of Rights

Congress of the United States

begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all, or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution; viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

#### **Amendment I**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of

#### **Amendment II**

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

#### **Amendment III**

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

#### Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

#### **Amendment V**

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

#### Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

#### Amendment VII

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### Amendment IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

#### AMENDMENT XI

Passed by Congress March 4, 1794. Ratified February 7, 1795.

Note: Article III, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by amendment 11.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

#### AMENDMENT XII

Passed by Congress December 9, 1803. Ratified June 15, 1804.

**Note**: A portion of Article II, section 1 of the Constitution was superseded by the 12th amendment.

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and

Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; -- the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; -- The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. [And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. --]\* The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

\*Superseded by section 3 of the 20th amendment.

#### AMENDMENT XIII (Article XIII)

Passed by vote of 26-1 as recorded by Gales and Seaton in 1853. Ratified March 12, 1819

"If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign Power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them."

#### AMENDMENT XIII

Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.

**Note**: A portion of Article IV, section 2, of the Constitution was superseded by the 13th amendment.

#### Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

#### Section 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XIV

Passed by Congress June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.

**Note**: Article I, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by section 2 of the 14th amendment.

#### Section 1.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

#### Section 2.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age,\* and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

#### Section 3.

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

#### Section 4.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against

the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

#### Section 5.

The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

\*Changed by section 1 of the 26th amendment.

#### AMENDMENT XV

Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

#### Section 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude--

#### Section 2.

The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XVI

Passed by Congress July 2, 1909. Ratified February 3, 1913.

**Note**: Article I, section 9, of the Constitution was modified by amendment 16.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

#### AMENDMENT XVII

Passed by Congress May 13, 1912. Ratified April 8, 1913.

**Note**: Article I, section 3, of the Constitution was modified by the 17th amendment.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

#### AMENDMENT XVIII

Passed by Congress December 18, 1917. Ratified January 16, 1919. Repealed by amendment 21.

#### Section 1.

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

#### Section 2.

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### Section 3.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

#### AMENDMENT XIX

Passed by Congress June 4, 1919. Ratified August 18, 1920.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XX

Passed by Congress March 2, 1932. Ratified January 23, 1933.

**Note**: Article I, section 4, of the Constitution was modified by section 2 of this amendment. In addition, a portion of the 12th amendment was superseded by section 3.

#### Section 1.

The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

#### Section 2.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at

noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

#### Section 3.

If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

#### Section 4.

The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

#### Section 5.

Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

#### Section 6.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

#### AMENDMENT XXI

Passed by Congress February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.

#### Section 1.

The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

#### Section 2.

The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

#### Section 3.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

#### AMENDMENT XXII

Passed by Congress March 21, 1947. Ratified February 27, 1951.

#### Section 1.

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

#### Section 2.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

#### AMENDMENT XXIII

Passed by Congress June 16, 1960. Ratified March 29, 1961.

#### Section 1.

The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

#### Section 2.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XXIV

Passed by Congress August 27, 1962. Ratified January 23, 1964.

#### Section 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay poll tax or other tax.

#### Section 2.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XXV

Passed by Congress July 6, 1965. Ratified February 10, 1967.

**Note**: Article II, section 1, of the Constitution was affected by the 25th amendment.

#### Section 1.

In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

#### Section 2.

Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

#### Section 3.

Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

#### Section 4.

Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

#### AMENDMENT XXVI

Passed by Congress March 23, 1971. Ratified July 1, 1971.

**Note**: Amendment 14, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by section 1 of the 26th amendment.

#### Section 1.

The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

#### Section 2.

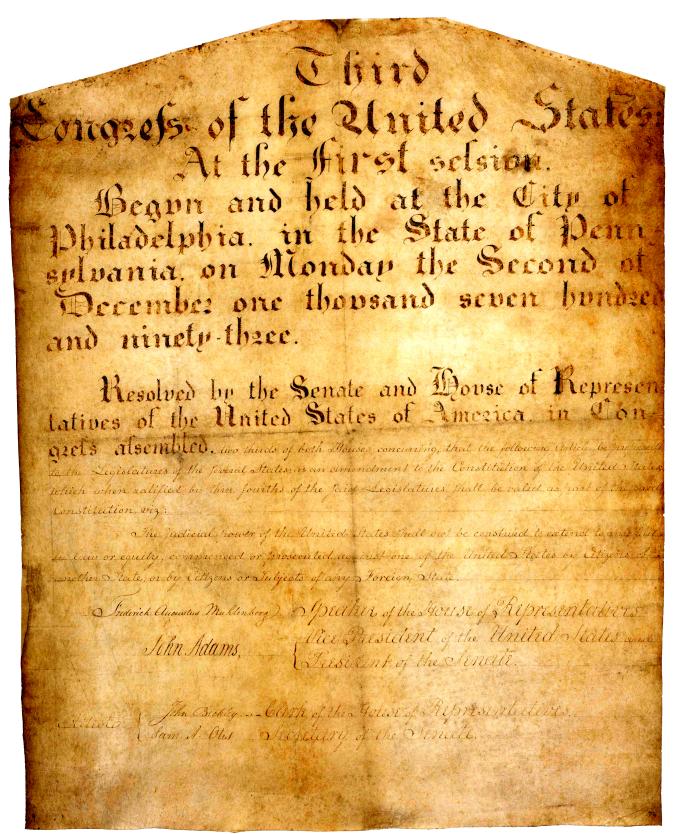
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### AMENDMENT XXVII

Originally proposed Sept. 25, 1789. Ratified May 7, 1992.

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.





Original parchment of Amendment 11

# EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES; AT THE FIRST SESSION, Begun and held at the city of Washington, in the territory of Columbia, on Monday, the seventeenth of October, one thousand eight hundred and three. Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, Two thirds of beth houses concurring, that in lieu of the third paragraph of the first section of the second article of the constitution of the United States the following be proposed as an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three fourths of the legislatures of the several states, shall be valed to all entents and purposes, as part of the said constitution, to wit: The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot The President and there- Tresident, one of whom, at least, set not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall warme in their ballots the person voted Ger as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice Fresedent, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persond roted for as tice. President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit scaled to the seal of the government of the United States, derected to the President of the Senate; The President of the Secate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all The certificates and the votes shall then be counted; \_ The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a . majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three s on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by hallot, the President. But in charring the President, the roles x shall be taken by states, the representative from each state thering one vete; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice . And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall develve when them, before the fouth day of Narch west following then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional diswilly of the President. \_ The person having the greatest number of votes as Nice President, shall be the Vice President, of such number be a majority of the se while number of Electric appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the tree highest numbers on the list, the Senate shell choose the Nice President; a que from for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice . But we as person absolutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice- President of the United States. Path Macore Speaker of the Trease of Representatives. Flaces Lice President of the United States, and Insulent of the Sinche. Attest John Beckley ... Out of the Henry of Remonstrations agril Btis Santon of the Seach

Original parchment of Amendment 12

two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President

shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honor, or shall, without the consent of congress, accept or retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary scrvitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legis-

lation.

#### Record of Amendment 13 Article 13

(restored from records surviving civil war destruction and extirpation by British agents – see Appendix 3. Note the correct insertion numbering of the amendments.)

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Original record of Amendment 13

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Original parchment of Amendment 14

S. R. B. Fortieth Congress of the United States of America; At the Hund Session. day of December , one thousand eight hundred and sixty-right. Begun and held at the city of Washington, on Monday, the Leventh A RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the limited States. Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring) That the following article be projected to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures shall be valid as hart of the Constitution, namely: Atticle XV. Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude -Dection 2. The Congress shall have hower to enforce this article by appropriate legislation -Chayle Confax Speaker of the House of Representatives, 18 Thouse President of the Sonate protempore. Attest. ( She cake Clerk of House of Representation. Geo. b. Grham Leay of denate U.S.

# Sixty-first Congress of the United States of America; At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and nine.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"ARTICLE XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice-President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

Attest.

# Sixty-second Congress of the United States of America;

At the Second Session,

regun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and eleven.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That in lieu of the first paragraph of section three of Article I of the Constitution of the United States, and in lieu of so much of paragraph two of the same section as relates to the filling of vacancies, the following be proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States:

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

"When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

"This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution."

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

# Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States of America; At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the third day of December, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

"ARTICLE -.

"Section I. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The R. Marshaue

Vice President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

# Sixty-sixth Congress of the United States of America; At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the nineteenth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE -

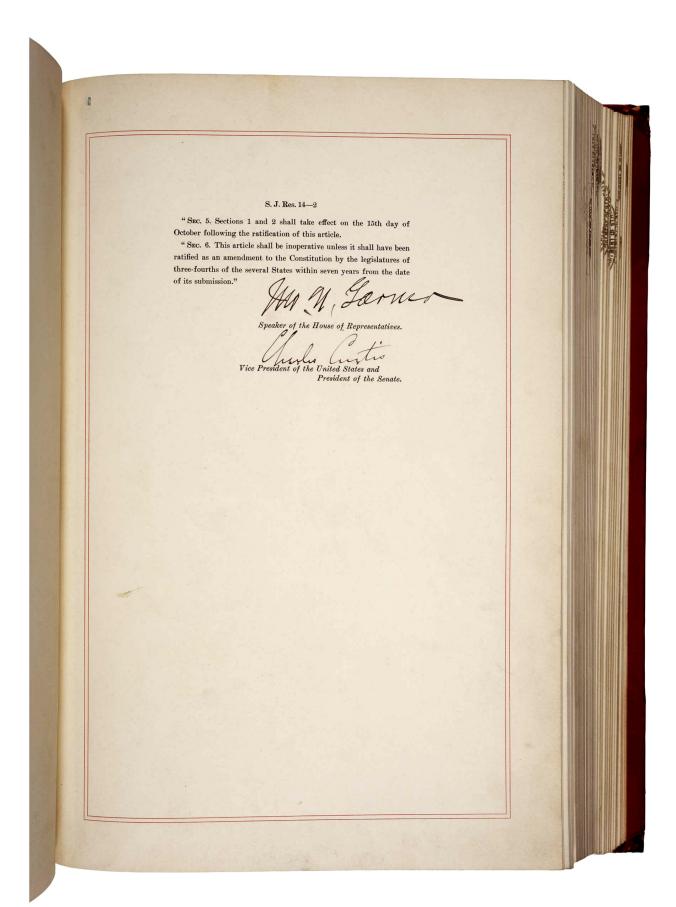
"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." F. H. Lielett

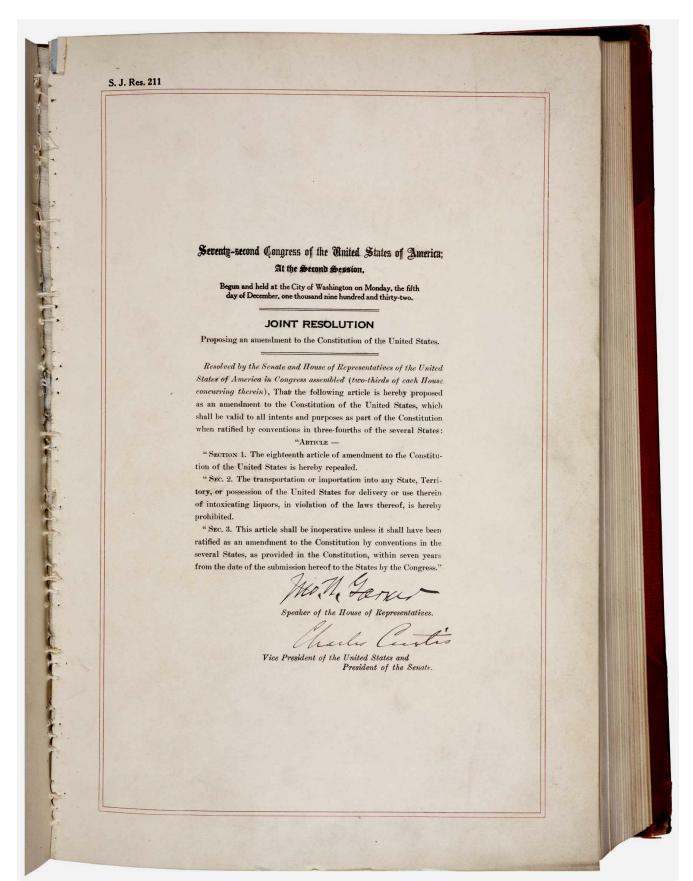
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall. Vice President of the United States and

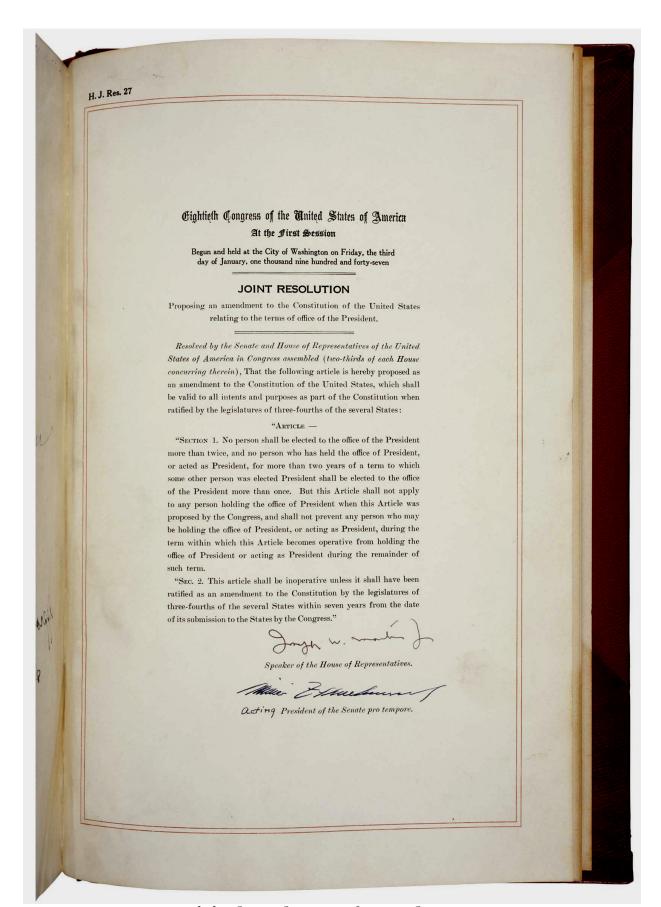
President of the Senate.



Original parchment of Amendment 20



Original parchment of Amendment 21



Original parchment of Amendment 22

## **Eighty-sixth Congress of the United States of America**

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the sixth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty

#### Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting representation in the electoral college to the District of Columbia.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may

the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

"A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation".

acting President of the Senate for tempore

## **Eighty-seventh Congress of the United States of America**

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the tenth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-two

#### Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the qualifications of electors.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"APTICLE—"

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax. "Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

er of the House of Representatives.

President of the Senate fro tempore

### **Eighty-ninth Congress of the United States of America**

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fourth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five

#### Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

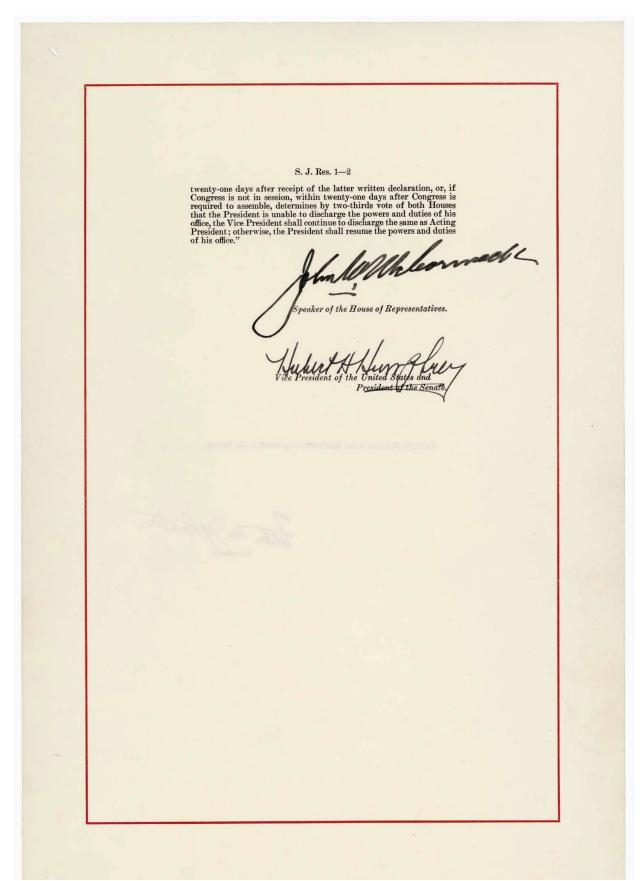
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President. "Sec. 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress. "Sec. 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

"Sec. 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

"Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within





# Minety-second Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Thursday, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one

#### Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

#### "ARTICLE -

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

#### ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED STATES UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

KNOW YE, That the first Congress of the United States, at its first session, held in New York, New York, on the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, passed the following resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States of America, in the following words and figures in part, to wit:

The Conventions of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the benificent ends of its institution;

Resolved by the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States of America
in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses
concurring, that the following Articles be
proposed to the Legislatures of the several States,
as Amendments to the Constitution of the United
States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified
by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be
valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the
said Constitution, viz.:

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Article the Second...No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

And, further, that Section 106b, Title 1 of the United States Code provides that whenever official notice is received at the National Archives and Records Administration that any amendment proposed to the Constitution of the United States has been adopted, according to the provisions of the Constitution, the Archivist of the United States shall forthwith cause the amendment to be published, with his certificate, specifying the States by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in the National Archives of the United States that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed Amendment constitute the requisite three fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

NOW, Therefore, be it known that I, Don W. Wilson, Archivist of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 106b, Title 1 of the United States Code, do hereby certify that the aforesaid Amendment has been stid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United Ses.

#### IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF,

I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the National Archives and Records Administration to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington
this I & L. day of \_\_\_\_\_\_
in the year of our Lord one
thousand nine hundred and ninety-two.

DON W. WILSON

foregoing was signed presence on this

Original document of Amendment 27 (p3)

# The "Unratified" Amendments

Throughout the history of the Constitution, 27 changes have been made through the Amendment process. Amendments are not easy to pass, and several amendments have been proposed over time, but which failed to pass the second hurdle - acceptance by the states. This page lists the amendments to the Constitution which have not yet passed. Some, because of the language of the bill that passed the Congress, have no expiration date and are still pending ratification. Others have built-in expiration dates. The text details which of the amendments are expired.

#### **Article 1 of the original Bill of Rights**

This amendment, proposed in **1789**, dealt with the number of persons represented by each member of the House, and the number of members of the House. It essentially said that once the House hit 100 members, it should not go below 100, and once it reached 200, it should not go below 200. Since there are over 400 members today, this amendment would be de facto moot today. It is, however, still outstanding. Congressional research shows that the amendment was ratified by ten states, the last being in 1791. The text:

After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

#### The Anti-Title Amendment

This amendment, submitted to the States in the 11th Congress (in 1810), said that any citizen who accepted or received any title of nobility from a foreign power, or who accepted without the consent of Congress any gift from a foreign power, by would no longer be a citizen. This amendment was actually ratified. (See addendum below this section.) In any case this amendment is still outstanding. It is included in this section because an attempt was made to extirpate this amendment by British agents after destruction of many documents by arson. Congressional research shows that the amendment was ratified by at least twelve states, the last being in 1812. (See also appendix III below.)

The text:

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any

emperor, king, prince or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

#### The Slavery Amendment

In **1861**, an amendment prohibiting the Congress from making any law interfering with the domestic institutions of any State (slavery being specifically mentioned) was proposed and sent to the states. This amendment is still outstanding. Congressional research shows that the amendment was ratified by two states, the last being in 1862. This amendment is also known as the Corwin Amendment, as it was proposed by Ohio Representative Thomas Corwin. The text:

No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

#### The Child Labor Amendment

In **1926**, an amendment was proposed which granted Congress the power to regulate the labor of children under the age of 18. This amendment is still outstanding, having been ratified by 28 states. Ratification by 38 states is required to add an amendment. Congressional research shows that the amendment was ratified by 28 states, the last being in 1937.

The text:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

#### The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

The ERA's first section states "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." It was intended to place into law the equality of men and women. It was sent to the states in March, **1972**. The original seven year deadline was extended to ten years. It expired unratified in **1982**. The text:

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

#### The Washington DC Voting Rights Amendment

Granted the citizens of Washington DC the same full representation in Congress as any state,

and repealed the 23rd Amendment granting the District votes in the Electoral College (since it would have been moot). Proposed in **1978**, it expired unratified in 1985. The text:

Section 1. For purposes of representation in the Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.

Section 2. The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be provided by the Congress.

Section 3. The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 4. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

## The Real Thirteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States -Titles of Nobility and Honour

#### Amendment Article XIII

"If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign Power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them."

The Real Thirteenth Amendment, shown above, was ratified March 12, 1819 with the vote of the Virginia General Assembly to publish the Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia with this article of amendment included in the Constitution of the United States, and thus it became an integral part of the Constitution for the United States of America. This amendment added a heavy penalty, not included in the original exclusion of Titles of Nobility provided in Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution, upon any person holding or accepting a Title of Nobility or Honour, or receiving any emolument, other than their legitimate earnings, under any guise from external sources, by making that person "cease to be a citizen of the United States" and "incapable of holding any

office of trust or profit under the them, or either of them." This amendment was proposed, properly ratified, and was a matter of record in the several States archives until 1876, by which time it was quietly, and fraudulently "disappeared", never repealed, during the period of Reconstruction after the Civil War and the presently acknowledged Thirteenth Amendment was substituted.

The original records of the real Thirteenth Amendment were thought to be destroyed at the time of the burning of the capitol during the War of 1812, but have since been found in the archives of the British Museum library in London and in the archives of several of the States and territories. The fact of its existence had been lost to memory until researchers accidentally discovered in the public library at Belfast, Maine a copy of the 1825 Maine Constitution and that of the United States which included this amendment. Subsequent research shows that it was in the records of the ratifying states, and subsequently admitted states and territories until 1876. The last to drop it from record was the Territory of Wyoming after 1876. The most intriguing discovery was the 1867 Colorado Territory edition which includes both the "missing" Thirteenth Amendment and the current 13th Amendment, on the same page. The current 13th Amendment is listed as the 14th Amendment in the 1867 Colorado edition. Ref. colo68-1.jpg, colo68-2.jpg, colo68-3.jpg, colo68-4.jpg, and colo68-5.jpg.

The 1876 Laws of Wyoming similarly show the "missing" Thirteenth Amendment, the current 13th Amendment (freeing the slaves), and the current 15th Amendment on the same page. The current 13th Amendment is listed as the 14th and the current 15th Amendment is listed as the 15th, the current 14th amendment being omitted in the 1876 Wyoming edition. Graphics of these may be viewed by clicking on these links, wyo76-1.jpg, wyo76-2.jpg, wyo76-3.jpg

The Founders Fathers of Our Nation held an intense disdain and distrust of a privileged "Nobility" as a result of a long history, during Colonial times, of abuses and excesses against the Rights of Man and the established Common Law and Constitutions by the privileged "Nobility", and therefore placed in the new Constitution two injunctions against the use or recognition of "Titles of Nobility or Honor" and acceptance of any emoluments whatever from external sources, the first pertaining to the federal government, <a href="Article I, Section 9">Article I, Section 9</a>, and the second pertaining to the individual states, <a href="Article I, Section 10">Article I, Section 10</a>.

The Revolutionary War for Independence was primarily waged to eliminate these abuses and excesses of the "Nobility" from the life of the Nation, recognizing the Equality of all men. As there was no penalty attached to accepting, claiming, receiving or retaining a title of nobility or honor or emoluments in the Constitution as originally ratified, the Thirteenth Amendment was proposed in December of 1809 to institute penalty for accepting or using a "Title of Nobility or Honour" to set oneself apart from, or superior to, or possessing of any special privileges or immunities not available to any other citizen of the United States. It also instituted the same penalty for accepting and retaining any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign Power. An

<u>emolument</u> is payment in any form for services rendered or to be rendered, or as understood today, a graft or a bribe.

Thus it was, that on January 18th of 1810, Senators led by <a href="Philip Reed">Philip Reed</a> of Maryland issued their first version of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, (known now as the T.O.N. or TONA, or more properly -- the original Thirteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution for the United States of America). Records show that the vote to send the final version of the amendment to the states for ratification was taken on Thursday, April 26th, first, a motion to delay voting on the proposed amendment was defeated 8-20, then the proposal was approved by the margin of 26 to 1, with seven Senators either absent or not voting. Biographical data of the Senators in office at the time of the vote on the amendment may be found at <a href="Appendix II">Appendix II</a>. They were very able and worthy men, some of the most extraordinary and illustrious Americans of that day.

The House of Representatives voted to approve the amendment May 1st, 1810. With considerable support both from Federalists in New York and Massachusetts, and Democratic-Republicans in the south, the amendment was approved by a vote of 87-3. Eighteen of the 21 members from Virginia voted for it. Seventeen of the 18 members from Pennsylvania voted for it, while those from New York numbered 7 for, 1 against, with 6 absent or not voting. Rhode Island's Robert Jackson, Jr. was absent, but the Revolutionary War veteran Elisha R. Potter voted for it.

In its final form, as sent to the Legislatures of the seventeen States for ratification, it reads as follows:

"If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign Power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them."

The first state to ratify the amendment was Maryland, which did so Christmas Day, December 25, 1810. A Table showing the dates on which the remaining states voted to ratify or reject the amendment is shown at this <a href="https://www.hyperlink.com/hyperlink">hyperlink</a>. So also are shown the official publications which researchers have uncovered in the various archives. The researchers are now in physical possession of other extant volumes of the same after years of searching old bookstores and auctions. The researchers' collection also includes many private printings and newspapers that contain the Thirteenth in its proper place.

The ratification by Maryland was followed closely by Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, North Carolina, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, all of which ratified the amendment in 1811. Massachusetts and New Hampshire ratified in 1812 by which time the <u>War of 1812</u> had commenced. New York and

Connecticut rejected the amendment in 1813 and Rhode Island did so in 1814. South Carolina tabled the proposal Dec. 21, 1814. This left the proposed amendment one shy of final ratification, the vote of Virginia either lost or not taken in the chaos and confusion of the War of 1812.

Authorized by an act of the Virginia General Assembly (February 15, 1817), the complete revision of the State's laws were entrusted to five of Virginia's most prominent lawyers and legal scholars: William Brockenbrough, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Robert White, and judges of the supreme court of appeals, Spencer Roane and John Coalter. When their work was concluded, the Virginia General Assembly voted on March 12, 1819 to publish the Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia with both the Constitution of Virginia and the Constitution of the United States including the Thirteenth Amendment intact and in its proper place. Thus, the vote of Virginia was accomplished and the amendment was ratified.

The General Assembly of Virginia authorized the distribution of the Revised Code of 1819 with **ten** copies designated for the executive branch of Virginia, **five** copies for the Clerk of the General Assembly, and **four** copies for the Secretary of State of the United States; **one** copy each for Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and President James Monroe; **one** copy each for the federal Senate, House, and Library of Congress, and **one** copy for every judge in the courts of the United States in Virginia. Thus was the Federal Government **notified of the actions of the Virginia General Assembly ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment.** 

By February of 1820, sufficient copies of the Revised Code had been printed to make it available for public sale, and it was advertised as such in a Richmond newspaper. Research conducted on this subject indicates that at least six or seven other Virginia newspapers also carried advertisements for the new Code.

# Historical Background What prompted the need for the Thirteenth Amendment?

In that day, **just as there are today**, there were unprincipled nations, corporations and men, **both within and without our Nation**, seeking every means of power and control, appealing to the egos, lusts and greeds of men. The Constitution had no means of enforcing a penalty on their attempts to suborn our citizens and to subvert the Constitution and our fledgling Republic. Thus the need for the Thirteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution as the monarchies of Europe tried to extend their hegemony over the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

This Article of Amendment is intimately connected to questions of war and national defense. It is designed to combat internal subversion and discord

sowed by people who are adhering to foreign powers without stepping across the bold Consitutional line of treason. The authors of the TONA wrote it after some additional experience with how the British Empire, as well as other European nations, actually conduct their affairs. It is a corrective and supplemental measure to go along with Constitutional treason.

A short time after the Thirteen Amendment was ratified, President Monroe in his annual address to Congress, December 2, 1823 enunciated the Monroe Doctrine excluding European colonization or interference in the affairs of the Nations in the Western Hemisphere.

"The sovereignty, the honor, and the best interests of America have been assailed," said <u>George Poindexter</u>, Delegate from the Mississippi Territory, "by Francis James Jackson, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty." Speaking of the British ambassador on the floor of the House of Representatives on December 30th, 1809, the gentleman from Woodville used all the florid constructions of political speech making then common, and sharpened his attack, like any good westerner would do.

The British ambassador was, in his words, "a Minister sent among us to excite the demon of discord and division; a legalized spy, prowling from Hampton to New York and through every city, town, and village, to designate the victims of corruption, and to subvert, if possible, the allegiance of the citizens from their Government, and thereby promote the views of the King, his master."

Thousands of Creek and Seminole warriors lived peaceably in the many towns and settlements which dotted the rivers west of the Georgia frontier. However, their kinsmen living in Florida, under Spanish rule, were undisciplined raiders by comparison, and their towns were havens for runaway slaves. Men of the western frontier were well aware that the great Creek leader, Alexander McGillivray, had served as a colonel in the British Army during the Revolution, and had grown wealthy as a civil servant of Spain. Shortly before his death in 1793, McGillivray, chief of the Creek and Seminole, had repudiated the treaty of peace negotiated in 1790 at New York.

Poindexter, a Virginia-born lawyer, was fully cognizant of what almost all the men of the western frontier knew at that time. British policy under the leadership of Sir James Craig, Governor-in-Chief of Canada, was to encourage the Indian tribes and clans from southern Ontario to western Florida to resist both American diplomacy and expansion. To accomplish his goals Craig recruited the Shawnee leader Tecumseh, who was the son of a Creek woman and thus respected in their Upper and Lower Towns.

"The British Ministry," said Poindexter, who was openly disdainful of New England's Federalists in the House, "on every occasion which required extraordinary duplicity, have availed themselves of this incendiary [Francis J. Jackson]." British hypocrisy in their own relations with the Indians was

insignificant, compared to the threat that civilized, intelligent Creek leaders, like William Weatherford, the nephew of McGillivray, might quickly turn against their American neighbors.

When Poindexter's comments are coupled with an equally critical, and lengthy, speech that had been given by <u>Senator William Branch Giles</u> of Virginia on December 8th, 1809, there can be no doubt that the growing antagonism against Britain, and her new ally, Spain, had reached a slow boil in the Congress of the new United States.

New England Federalists had their own set of antagonisms, focused on Napoleon Bonaparte's family and his tendency to foment revolution, and then to replace weakly-drawn republican governors with aristocratic titles for his kinfolk, enforced by imperial French armies. In that way Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Naples in 1806 and Jerome (or Jarome) Bonaparte, well-known to Americans, having been married to an American named Elizabeth Patterson for three years became the King of Westphalia in 1807.

Both of the principal factions in the Senate had reasons to seek a constitutional solution to the threats that the powerful, rich, and quarrelsome European monarchies and the far-reaching banking establishments posed to their young Republic.

It is most important to note that the same conditions prevail today, only more so, and the need for the Thirteenth Amendment is even greater today as we enter a new millennium, with the United States interfering in the affairs of the nations of Europe and Asia. With China and other nations buying voting blocks with illegal donations, i.e. "emoluments", "grafts" and "bribes", to the campaign funds and personal pockets of presidents, senators and congressmen, and others of our elected and appointed servants. With lobbying groups and multinational corporations, which might properly be termed "foreign powers", doing the same. With the duplicity evinced in the unprincipled, unethical and immoral conduct of a number of our elected representatives, who have subverted the Constitution at every step, who would destroy the Sovereignty of the United States of America. With the repudiation of the good sense of the policy of non-interference given by President Munroe in the Monroe Doctrine.

The real importance of the Thirteenth Titles of Nobility and Honour Amendment to our American Republic, soon to enter upon a new millennium, lies in its origins. Its original purposes were:

- a) to protect the State and Federal election processes from bribery, graft and political chicanery, and
- b) to shield the federal government itself from both espionage and the domestic intrigues of foreign agents-provocateur, by placing a severe penalty on citizens so engaged.

The Amendment was proposed in the midst of an ever-deepening diplomatic crisis in the early years of the 19th century, with the continued impressments of sailing men from American ships on the high seas, with Spain falling into the arms of the British lion after being conquered by France. Our Second War of Independence with Britain in 1812 had commenced during the ratification process. With the burning and destruction in 1814 of the Library of Congress and the loss of many of the secret journals of the House of Representatives, it is impossible to know exactly what was on the minds of the men led by Philip Reed of Maryland, who drafted and approved this measure in the Senate of the United States.

When a major war is in progress, with British ships raiding the coast and blocking the whole Chesapeake from commerce, and bloody fights with the Creek and other Indians progressing all through the southwestern frontier, and with an apparent plot to swing power to revolutionaries in Spanish New Mexico going on, the whole era has come into focus as being a time of incredible and convoluted intrigues.

Clearly the Thirteenth Amendment was written to stop the depredations of Ambassadorial level spies like Francis Jackson of Britain, and corrupted officials like *General James Wilkinson* and *Aaron Burr*. Wilkinson was definitely a Spanish royal agent. All the rest is incidental. The large number of lawyers and men who served as judges either before going to Congress or after voting for the Titles of Nobility and Honour amendment indicates that **this was not about any monopoly power of lawyers at that time.** The continuous fight over banking in that era was part of the background of this process, but not the motivation for the men who wrote or supported this measure.

Land speculation was an issue, maybe a key issue. "Pensions" in that day and age almost always meant land which paid a rent or which brought an annuity with it. Emoluments also meant any other form of payment, i.e., Spanish gold or silver, and the large amount of land in Spanish Florida, Spanish New Mexico (which included Texas), and Cuba which could have been used by British agents on behalf of their Spanish allies. The British bought the allegiance of Indian tribes from southern Ontario to northern Florida, to ensure that they either stayed neutral, or worked against and fought against the new United States. They did so with trade goods and guarantees of arms, and food, which indicates that the hunting grounds were going bare even as early as 1809. Although the British opposed slavery, they had no problems with the southern Indians keeping control of their own slaves.

The Thirteenth Amendment was a measure against British imperialism in the wake of their alliance with Spain, and it was supported by Federalists who were eminently suspicious of the "democratic clubs" fomented by the Bonapartes, who would always follow a republican revolution with their own seizures of power and creation of new titles.

This we do know, the Thirteenth Titles of Nobility and Honour Amendment was written and passed by a Congress which was reacting to the depredations of British aristocrats and Spanish grandees, to safeguard a

government which was an infant among the nations of the world, but a strong one. It was clearly designed to defeat the plans and to retard the plots of skilled men of espionage, worldly-wise diplomats and to stifle homegrown Bonapartists. It was not the work of xenophobic men, but of hard-skulled and practical political leaders from both the Federalist and the Madisonian factions.

After it was ratified, a large number of <u>subsequent publications</u> of the original Thirteenth Amendment appeared throughout the nation. It appeared in books of State law, in volumes of history, collections of Presidential addresses, in newspapers and special publications of the Constitution, for example, in the Whig Party Almanac of 1845, as issued by the New York Tribune. Throughout the Jacksonian era, men of government read their law books and those books included the Thirteenth Titles of Nobility and Honour Amendment as the lawful Article XIII.

"The rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes...Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when they undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society - the farmers, merchants, and laborers - who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government." - President Andrew Jackson, following his resounding veto of The Second Bank of the United States

The suppression of the T.O.N.A. now boils down to a fight, then and now, over the <u>control</u> of the currency and speculation in the land and resources of the United States, by foreign agents and multi-national corporations, willingly and willfully aided and abetted by the legal establishment and the judiciary of the United States.

"Permit me to issue and control the money of a nation and I care not who makes the laws..." Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812)

"Governments do not govern, but merely control the machinery of government, being themselves controlled by the hidden hand." -- Benjamin Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer; Prime Minister of Britain (I am trying to source this quote)

"When plunder becomes a way of life for a group of men living together in society, they create for themselves in the course of time, a legal system that authorizes it and a moral code that glorifies it." - Frederic Bastiat - (1801-1850) in Economic Sophisms

"It is easy to understand why the law is used by the legislator to destroy in varying degrees among the rest of the people, their personal independence by slavery, their liberty by oppression, and their property by plunder. This is done for the benefit of the person who makes the law, and in proportion to the power that he holds." - Frederic Bastiat - (1801-1850) in *The Law* 

"This is a government of the people, by the people and for the people no longer. It is a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations." - U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes

"The balance of power has shifted in recent years from territorially bound governments to companies that can roam the world." - Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order

When the Thirteenth Titles of Nobility and Honour Article of Amendment was made to "disappear", it did not vanish all at once but it was, rather, replaced by stages and by degrees. This gradualism was simply ignored by a legal establishment and judiciary loyal to the international banking establishment, and the privileged "nobility" of the rich, both of the United States and of Europe, and the common man knew nothing of it. The fact cannot be ignored that it is with the willingly purchased aid of both the judiciary and the legal establishment that the rich and powerful bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Jefferson warned of this.

## Conclusion

America's growing "aristocracy" depends on the growth and maintenance of a Servile State. Slave whips went out in 1865, but no matter - far more sophisticated ways of control have been, and will continue to be, developed as long as evil remains profitable and is contested by nothing more than the wishful thinking of the ballot. See <u>Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars</u>

It has long been insisted that America's fundamental problem is more legal than political and that unless the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are respected as America's fundamental legal source, We, the People are doomed to continue suffering under the tyranny of the "aristocracy", and the lawmakers and the judges.

We the People must stop seeking remedy by squandering our substance on elections. Wishful thinking will avail us nothing. Instead, we must unite in the demand that the uncorrupted Bill of Rights and the Real 13th Amendment be respected. To do this, we must take back our courts from those who have assumed a constitutional authority they do not rightfully possess. Government, its agents and the increasingly greedy establishment they serve, will never willingly respect the unalienable rights of each of the People unless the People force them to do so.

It is a misfortune born of human nature, that, when profit born of evil remains unchecked, evil will be nurtured by the profiteers with the substance of their victims.

We, the People, certainly have to build the immediate case ourselves, but as to the rhetoric - what could we possibly say that the Founding Fathers themselves haven't already said as eloquently and profoundly as it could possibly be said?

#### According to James Madison:

"It will be of little avail to the people that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood; if they be repealed or revised before they can be promulgated, or undergo such incessant changes that no man who knows what the law is today can guess what it will be tomorrow." - *The Federalist No. 62* 

"Another effect of public instability is the unreasonable advantage it gives to the sagacious, the enterprising and the moneyed few, over the industrious and uninformed mass of the people. Every new regulation concerning commerce or revenue; or in any manner affecting the value of the different species of property, presents a new harvest to those who watch the change and can trace its consequences; a harvest reared not by themselves but by the toils and cares of the great body of their fellow citizens This is a state of things in which it may be said with some truth that the laws are made for the [benefit of] few and not for the many." - *Ibid* 

"The greatest calamity, to which the United States can be subject, is a vicissitude of laws, and continual shifting and changing from one object to another, which must expose the people to various inconveniences. This has a certain effect, of which sagacious men always have, and always will make an advantage. From whom is advantage made? From the industrious farmers and the tradesmen, who are ignorant of the means of making such advantages." - Ibid, Speech in the Virginia Ratifying Convention. 11 June 1788

#### **APPENDIX I**

Definitions from Webster's New World Dictionary, College Edition

Bribe - 1. Anything, especially money, given or promised to induce a person to do something illegal or wrong; 2. Anything given or promised to induce a person to do something against his wishes. Also (vt) 2. To get or influence by bribing.

Emolument - gain from employment or position, payment received for services rendered or to be rendered.

Graft - 3. a) The act of taking advantage of one's position to gain money, property, etc. dishonestly, as in politics; b) anything acquired by such illegal methods, as an illicit profit from government business.

Honour - high rank or distinction of superiority to be treated with deference or obeisance.

Nobility - [Artificial] high station of rank or privilege in society, especially when accompanied by a title.

"These had anciently duties annexed to their respective honors. They are created either by writ, i.e., by royal summons to attend the house of peers, or by letters patent, i.e., by royal grant of any dignity and degree of peerage; and they enjoy many privileges, exclusive of their senatorial capacity." *1 Blackstone's Commentaries 396.* 

"Title of Nobility" is defined in relevant part as follows: "The qualities which constitute distinction of rank in civil society, according to the customs or laws of the country; that eminence or dignity which a man derives from birth or title conferred, and which places him in an order above common men. In Great Britain, nobility is extended to five ranks, those of duke, marquis, earl, viscount and baron." Webster's American Dictionary of 1828

Title - an appellation given to a person as a sign of privilege. An [artificial] claim of right.

#### APPENDIX II

The following are brief biographical sketches of the Senators who voted on the Thirteenth Titles of Nobility and Honour Amendment, based on the vote of 26-1 as recorded by Gales and Seaton in their 1853 Debates and Proceedings

Delaware:

**Outerbridge Horsey** -- born March 5, 1777 in Sussex County. Admitted to the bar in 1807 and practiced at Wilmington, Delaware. Elected as a Federalist to replace Samuel White (who died). Served January 12, 1810 through March 3, 1821, when he retired to "Needwood," his wife's estate in Frederick County, Maryland. Died June 9, 1842.

James Asheton Bayard, Sr. -- born July 28, 1767 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Graduated from Princeton College in 1784 and was admitted to the bar in 1787, practiced in Wilmington, DE. Served in the House as a member of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Congresses, Federalist, appointed as a manager for the impeachement of William Blount, Senator from Tennessee, 1798. Elected upon the resignation of William Hill Wells and served in the Senate from November 13, 1804 to March 3rd, 1815. Joined John Quincy Adams in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812. Died on August 6, 1815. NO VOTE RECORDED

#### Pennsylvania:

Andrew Gregg -- born June 10, 1755 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was educated at the Latin School, moved to Newark, Delaware for further education and served in the militia of the Revolution. Merchant and farmer, elected to the Second Congress and re-elected continuously until he went to the Senate on March 4, 1807. Served until March 3, 1813 and was elected President pro tempore of the Senate on June 26, 1809. Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania for the years 1820-1823 but failed to win election as governor in that last year. Engaging in banking and retired to Bellefonte, PA where he died in 1835. NO VOTE RECORDED

**Michael Leib** -- born January 8, 1760 in Philadelphia, PA, and educated in the common schools, and at the University of Pennsylvania. Practicing physician in Philadelphia, surgeon of Eyre's Philadelphia Militia during the Revolutionary War. Elected to the Sixth Congress as a Democrat and served four terms, from March 4, 1799 to February 14, 1806, when he resigned. Elected to the Senate and served from January 9, 1809 through February 14, 1814 when he resigned to become Postmaster of Philadelphia. Served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1817 and 1818. {Note PA publications} Died on December 22, 1822 while serving as prothonotary of the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia.

## New Jersey:

John Condit -- born in Orange, New Jersey on July 8, 1755 and attended the public schools there; studied medicine and served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary War, with Heardy's brigade. Founding father of the Orange Academy and was one of its trustees, 1785, which was followed by service in the New Jersey legislature. Elected to the Sixth and Seventh Congresses as a Democrat. Appointed to the Senate and then subsequently elected, and served from September 1, 1803 to March 3, 1809. Again appointed and then elected to replace Aaron Kitchell, and served from March 21, 1809 to March 3, 1817.

Served eleven years as the assistant collector of the Port of New York and retired in January of 1830, and died in Orange Township on May 4th, 1834.

**John Lambert** -- born in Lambertville, New Jersey on February 24, 1746. Owned and managed a plantation, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, Acting Governor in 1802 and 1803, elected to the House of Representatives for the Ninth and Tenth Congresses, and elected to the Senate in 1808, serving from March 4, 1809 to March 3, 1815. Returned to his farming and died near his home town on February 4, 1823.

#### Georgia:

William Harris Crawford -- born in Nelson County, Virginia on February 24, 1772 and moved with the family to Columbia County, Georgia in 1783. Educated privately and at Richmond Academy in Augusta, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1799. Member of the State House of Representatives in 1803-1807. Elected to the Senate on the death of Abraham Baldwin and served from November 7, 1807 to March 23, 1813. Minister to France for two years, ending in 1815. Secretary of War in 1815, and then Secretary of the Treasury for both James Madison and James Monroe, concluding March 3, 1825. Unsuccessful candidate for President in the election of 1824. Returned to Georgia and served as a judge. Died on September 15, 1834, at "Woodlawn," his estate in Oglethorpe County, Georgia.

Charles Tait -- born in Hanover County, Virginia on February 1, 1768, and moved to Wilkes County in Georgia where he attended Wilkes Academy. At Cokesburg College in Maryland in 1788, and a professor of French there for five years, 1789 through 1794. Studied law and admitted to the bar in Elbert County, Georgia. Elected to the Senate upon the resignation of John Milledge, and served from November 27, 1809 to March 3, 1819, whereupon he moved to Alabama, and then served as U.S. District Judge for Alabama for six years. Died on October 7, 1835, and was buried on his country estate in Wilcox County, Alabama.

James De Wolf -- born in Bristol, Rhode Island on March 18, 1764, and shipped as a sailor boy on a private armed vessel during the Revolutionary War, was twice captured and imprisoned on Bermuda. Later before he was twenty years old became captain of a ship. Elected to the Rhode Island state legislature in 1797-1801 and served again from 1803 to 1812. He fitted out a privateer and sailed against the British in the War of 1812. One of the pioneers in cotton manufacturing, he built the Arkwright Mills in Coventry, R.I. in 1812. Elected again to the State House of Representatives 1817, and was Speaker of that body from 1819 to 1821 when the Rhode Island legislature voted to approve the printing of the State laws published in 1822 with the TON attached. Elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate and served from March 4, 1821 to October 31, 1825, when he resigned. Returned to the State House in 1829, he served there until 1837, when he died in New York City, December 21, 1837. De Wolf was not in the Senate when the TONA vote was taken but is

nonetheless a fascinating character from that era. (The Liberty Ship hull number 1460 built during World War 2 was christened James De Wolf after him)

#### Connecticut:

Chauncey Goodrich -- born October 20, 1759 in Durham, Middlesex County, he prepared for collegiate studies. Entered Yale College and graduated in 1776 and was then employed at Hopkins Grammar School. Taught at Yale from 1778 to 1781, when he undertook the study of law. Admitted to the bar and practiced at Hartford. A Federalist, he was elected first to the State House and then to the Fourth Congress, where he served three terms. After returning to the law practice he was elected to the Senate upon the death of Uriah Tracy and served from October 25, 1807 to May of 1813. He was also both Mayor of Hartford and the Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut for two years. Participated in the "Hartford Convention" of 1814, and died on August 18, 1815.

James Hillhouse -- born October 21, 1754 at Montville, and attended the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven. Was graduated from Yale College in 1773 and admitted to the bar after studying law, in 1775. Served in the Revolutionary War and was a Captain of the Governor's Foot Guards when the British invaded New Haven. After serving in the State House for several years he was elected to the Second Congress and served three terms. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1796 upon the death of Oliver Ellsworth and was re-elected three times, serving from December 6, 1796 to June 10, 1810, when he resigned. A strong Federalist, he was a member of the "Hartford Convention." Treasurer of Yale College from 1782 to 1832, when he died, at New Haven, on December 20th.

#### Massachusetts:

James Lloyd -- born in Boston in December of 1769, and prepared at the Boston Latin School. Graduated Harvard College in 1787 and engaged in mercantile pursuits. Served in the State Senate in 1804. Elected as a Federalist to the U.S. Senate upon the resignation of John Quincy Adams, and served from June 9, 1808 until May 1, 1813. Again elected to the Senate upon the resignation of Harrison Otis Gray and served from June 5, 1822 through May 23, 1826, when he retired from public life. Died in New York City in 1831.

**Timothy Pickering** -- born in Salem on July 17, 1745 and attended grammar school there; entered Harvard College and was graduated in 1763. Worked as a clerk and studied law, commencing practice in Salem, 1768, and later elected to the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, 1774-1775. Registrar of deeds and a judge in 1775, he resigned to enter the Army in 1777. Appointed adjutant general in May of 1777 and became Quartermaster General of the Army in 1780. Later appointed Postmaster General and then Secretary of War under George Washington. Assumed duties of Secretary of State on December 10, 1795, where he remained until 1800. Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and then was elected as a Federalist to the Senate, serving from March 4, 1803 to March 3, 1811. Unsuccessful candidate for re-election, but was later

elected to the House of Representatives and served two terms, from 1813 through 1817. Chairman of the Salem School Committee in 1821 and continued to reside there until his death in 1829, on January 20, at 83 years of age.

#### Maryland:

Philip Reed -- born in Kent County in 1760 and completed preparatory studies, then served in the Revolutionary Army, attaining the rank of captain of infantry. He was Sheriff of Kent County from 1791 to 1794 and a member of the executive council in 1805-1806. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1806 upon the resignation of Robert Wright, he served from November 25th of that year until March 3, 1813. Considered to be the author of the original Thirteenth Amendment and was in charge of the Senate committee which wrote every known version of it. Upon completion of his term in the Senate, Reed returned to Maryland. Commanded the First Regiment, Maryland Militia, during the war as a Lieutenant Colonel, and led American forces to victory at the Battle of Caulk's Field, was then elevated to Brigadier General of the Maryland Militia. Elected to the Fifteenth Congress and to the Seventeenth Congress, serving in the House of Representatives, and concluding his service on March 3rd, 1823. Died at Huntingtown, Maryland on November 2, 1829 and was laid to rest in Chestertown, at the cemetery of Christ Church.

Samuel Smith -- born on July 27, 1752 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and moved with his family to Baltimore in 1759, where he attended the public schools. Graduated from Princeton College and engaged in mercantile pursuits, and served in the Revolutionary War as an officer -- awarded a commemorative sword by act of Congress for the defense of Fort Mifflin -- and later entered the shipping business. After serving in the State House of Delegates he was elected to the Third Congress and served from March 4, 1783 to March 3, 1803. Appointed and then elected to the Senate, he served from March 4, 1803 to March 3, 1815. Four times elected President pro tempore of the Senate. He was also appointed a Major General of the Maryland Militia and helped organize the defense of Baltimore in 1814. Elected to the House of Representatives after leaving the Senate he served from January 31, 1816 to December 17, 1822. He was then elected to fill the vacancy in the Senate caused by the death of William Pinkney and was re-elected, serving until March 3, 1833. Mayor of Baltimore in 1837, Smith then retired from public life. Died there on April 22, 1839 and was buried at the Old Westminster Burying Ground. He was apparently not related to Representative Samuel Smith of Erie, Pennsylvania, who served in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Congresses and who also voted to approve the original Thirteenth Amendment in 1810.

#### South Carolina:

**John Gaillard** -- born in St. Stephens, South Carolina on September 5, 1765, and educated for the law in England; served in the State House and the State Senate and was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1804, to fill the vacancy of Pierce Butler. Continuously re-elected for the next 22 years and served as President pro temp of the Senate on eight different occasions, including the Second

Session of the Eleventh Congress. A Democrat, he died while serving in the Senate on February 26, 1826 and is buried in the Congressional Cemetery.

Thomas Sumter -- born in Hanover County, Virginia on August 14, 1734 and attended the common schools. Surveyor. Moved to South Carolina in 1760 and settled on a plantation near Stateburg: colonel of the Sixth Regiment of the Revolutionary Army, later made brigadier general of militia in 1780. Elected to the State Senate in 1781 and 1782. A Delegate to the State Convention for Ratification of the Constitution (and which he opposed), then elected as a Democrat to the First and Second Congresses. Served again in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Congresses and resigned on December 15, 1801, to enter the Senate. Sent to the U.S. Senate after the resignation of Charles Pinckney, and won re-election in 1805. Resigned on December 16, 1810 and retired to his plantation at South Mount, near Stateburg. His grandson, Thomas De Lage Sumter, was twice elected to the House of Representatives. Considered to be a States Rights Democrat and a hard-liner on Free Trade. Died June 1, 1832 and is buried in the family grounds of his estate.

#### New York:

**Obadiah German** -- born on April 22, 1766, in Amenia, New York; attended the local schools and studied law; entered the bar in 1792 and practiced at Norwich, N.Y., and was elected four different times to the State Assembly. Elected as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate and served from March 4, 1809 to March 3, 1815. Again elected to the State Assembly in 1819, where he served as Speaker. Later became affiliated with the Whig Party upon its organization, and lived until September 24, 1842. Died in Norwich, New York and was interred at the Riverside Cemetery.

John Smith -- born in Mastic, Long Island, February 12, 1752 and completed preparatory education; member of the New York State Assembly 1784-1789, and also a Delegate to the ratifying convention which approved the federal Constitution. Elected as a Democrat to the Sixth and three subsequent Congresses, and served from February 6, 1800 to February 23, 1804 when his resignation became effective. Elected to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of De Witt Clinton. Served from February 23 of that year until March 3, 1813. Later appointed Major General of the New York militia. Died on August 12, 1816 in his hometown of Mastic, New York. VOTED NO.

#### Ohio

Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr. -- born on November 16, 1764 at Middletown, Connecticut, and was graduated from Yale College in 1785; studied law and was admitted to bar, and practiced in Marietta, Washington County of the Northwest Territory, 1788. Veteran of the Indian wars of that era, and a Territorial Judge in 1802-1803. Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court. Officer in the U.S. Army, in the St. Charles District of Louisiana, 1804-1806. Judge of the U.S. District Court of Michigan Territory, 1807-1808. Upon his return to Ohio he was elected to the United States Senate and served from December 12,

1808 to May 1, 1810, voting for the TONA. Returned to Ohio and then served as Governor from 1810 to 1814. Postmaster General for James Madison and James Monroe. Retired to Marietta, Ohio, where he died on March 29, 1825.

Alexander Campbell -- born in Frederick County, Virginia, 1779 and later moved with his family to Kentucky, near Lexington. Educated at Pisgah Academy and then studied medicine at Transylvania University, and commenced practice in Cynthiana in 1801. Member of the State House in 1803. Moved to Ohio and settled in Brown County, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits and continued to practice medicine. Member of the Ohio State House in 1807, re-elected in 1808 and 1809, when he served as Speaker of that body; elected to the U.S. Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Edward Tiffin and served from December 11, 1809 to March 3, 1813. He did not vote on the TONA. Moved to Ripley, Ohio to set up practice as its first physician, 1815. Again elected to the State House in 1819. Presidential elector for James Monroe in 1820, and then served in the State Senate from 1822 to 1824. Helped establish the first general anti-slavery society in Ohio in 1835, and was its vice-president. Mayor of Ripley, Ohio, for five years and lived there until November 5, 1857.

#### Virginia

William Branch Giles, a Representative and a Senator from Virginia; born near Amelia Court House, Amelia County, Va., August 12, 1762; pursued classical studies and graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1781; studied law; was admitted to the bar and practiced in Petersburg, Va., 1784-1789; elected to the First Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Theodorick Bland; reelected to the Second and to the three succeeding Congresses and served from December 7, 1790, to October 2, 1798, when he resigned; member, State house of delegates 1798-1800; elected as a Republican to the Seventh Congress (March 4, 1801-March 3, 1803); appointed to the United States Senate as a Republican to fill the vacancy in the term beginning March 4, 1803, caused by the resignation of Abraham B. Venable: while holding the office of Senator-designate was elected on December 4, 1804, to fill the vacancy in the term beginning March 4, 1799, caused by the resignation of Wilson C. Nicholas; was reelected in 1804 and 1811 and served from August 11, 1804, to March 3, 1815, when he resigned. Giles was on the committee with Phillip Reed which drafted the final version of the TONA, but was not recorded as voting. Member, State house of delegates 1816-1817, 1826-1827; unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate in 1825; Governor of Virginia 1827-1830; was a member of the State constitutional convention in 1829 and 1830; again elected Governor in 1830, but declined; died on his estate, 'Wigwam,' near Amelia Court House, Amelia County, Va., December 4, 1830; interment in a private cemetery on his estate.

Other Members of Congress or Government of importance in the history of the TONA ---

**Poindexter, George** -- a Delegate, a Representative, and a Senator from Mississippi; Party: Jacksonian; Anti-Jackson born in Louisa County, Va., in 1779; had a sporadic education; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1800 and commenced practice in Milton, Va.; moved to the Territory of Mississippi in 1802 and practiced law in Natchez; attorney general of the Territory; member, Territorial general assembly 1805; elected as a Delegate from Mississippi Territory to the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Congresses (March 4, 1807-March 3, 1813); United States district judge for the Territory 1813-1817; served in the War of 1812: upon the admission of Mississippi as a State into the Union was elected to the Fifteenth Congress and served from December 10, 1817, to March 3, 1819; chairman, Committee on Public Lands (Fifteenth Congress); Governor of Mississippi 1819-1821; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1820 to the Seventeenth Congress and in 1822 to the Eighteenth Congress: appointed in 1830 to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Robert H. Adams; subsequently elected, and served from October 15, 1830, to March 3, 1835; unsuccessful candidate for reelection; served as President pro tempore of the Senate during the Twenty-third Congress: chairman, Committee on Private Land Claims (Twenty-second Congress), Committee on Public Lands (Twenty-third Congress); moved to Kentucky and resumed the practice of his profession in Lexington; returned to Jackson, Miss., and continued the practice of law until his death on September 5, 1853; interment in Jackson Cemetery.

James Wilkinson -1757-1825, American general, b. Calvert Co., Md. Abandoning his medical studies in 1776 to join the army commanded by George Washington, he served as a captain in Benedict Arnold's unsuccessful Quebec campaign. Later he was Gen. Horatio Gates's deputy adjutant general in the Saratoga campaign and was given the honor of bringing to Congress the news of General Burgoyne's defeat. Congress censured Wilkinson for delay in carrying the dispatch but rewarded him by promoting him to brigadier general (1777) and making him secretary to the board of war (1778), a position he was forced to leave because of his implication in the Conway Cabal. He was (1779-81) clothier general of the army but resigned when charged with irregularities in his accounts. Wilkinson moved to Kentucky in 1784. Shortly thereafter, he became a key figure in the plan to induce what was then the SW United States to form a separate nation allied to Spain. Wilkinson apparently took an oath of allegiance to Spain and received a Spanish pension of \$2,000 (and later \$4,000) a year. To the Spanish authorities in New Orleans he represented his agitation for the separation of Kentucky from Virginia as part of this scheme; there is no indication, however, that he revealed any such motivation to the Kentucky conventions, in which others had expressed sentiments in favor of a separate republic of Kentucky. In 1791, Wilkinson reentered the army as a lieutenant colonel, and in 1792 he again attained the rank of brigadier general. serving under Anthony Wayne. On Wayne's death (1796) Wilkinson became ranking army officer. While governor (1805-1806) of the Louisiana Territory, he became involved in the schemes of Aaron Burr. Alarmed when he realized that his association with Burr was common knowledge, Wilkinson informed President Jefferson that Burr was plotting to disrupt the Union. Although he was chief prosecution witness at Burr's trial, he narrowly escaped indictment. Subsequently (1811) he was cleared, but just barely, by an army board of

inquiry. In the War of 1812 he failed signally in the campaign to take Montreal and was relieved of his command. Once again an official inquiry left him untouched. He wrote Memoirs of My Own Times (3 vol., 1816) in an attempt to answer his many critics. He died in Mexico, where he spent his last years. See biographies by J. R. Jacobs (1938) and T. R. Hay and M. R. Werner (1941); J. E. Weems, Men without Countries (1969).

This essay was placed on the web by Bob Hardison with the Historical Research and editing assistance of Richard C. Green, Brian March, and Alan and Suzanne Nevling

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#### **APPENDIX III**

## Titles of Nobility and Honour Thirteenth Amendment Ratification and Publication Table

This is a compilation of data known to date, from researching the various archives for official publications. There are undoubtably more publications which are undiscovered. To view the latest researched data and images of official publications found visit the TONA Research Committee Site www.amendment-13.org

State	Admission	Rank	Ratified or Recognized	Ratification Date	Pre 1820 Official Publ.	Post 1820 Official Publ.
Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787	1	Yes	Rat. Feb. 2, 1811		
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787	2	Yes	Rat. Feb. 6, 1811	1818	1824,1831
New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787	3	Yes	Rat. Feb. 13, 1811		
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788	4	Yes	Rat. Nov. 22, 1811	1819	1822,1837,1846
Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788	5	Yes	Rej. May 11,1813		1821,1824,1835, 1839
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788	6	Yes	Rat. Feb. 27, 1812	1816	1823
Maryland	Apr. 28, 1788	7	Yes	Rat. Dec. 25, 1810		

South Carolina	May 23, 1788	8	Tabled	Dec. 21, 1814		
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	9	Yes	Rat. Dec. 10, 1812		
Virginia	June 25, 1788	10	Yes	Rat. Mar. 12, 1819	1819	
New York	Feb. 6, 1788	11	Rejected	Rej. May 1, 1813		
North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789	12	Yes	Rat. Dec. 23, 1811	1819	1828
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	13	Yes	Rej. Sep. 15, 1814.		1822
Vermont	Mar. 4, 1791	14	Yes	Rat. Oct. 24, 1811		
Kentucky	June 1, 1792	15	Yes	Rat. Jan. 31, 1811		1822
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	16	Yes	Rat. Nov. 21, 1811		
Ohio	March 1, 1803	17	Yes	Rat. Jan. 31, 1811	1819	1824,1831,1833, 1835,1848
Louisiana	Apr. 30, 1812	18	Yes			1825,1838
Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	19	Yes			1824,1831,1838
Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	20	Yes			1823,1824,1839
Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	21	Yes			1823,1825,1827, 1833,1839,1845
Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	22	Not Known			
Maine	Mar.15, 1820	23	Yes	The 1825 Constitutions of Maine and the US is the rediscovery document found by Dodge and Dunn in 1983		1825,1831
Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	24	Yes			1825,1835,1840, 1841,1845
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	25	Not Known			
Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	26	Yes			Terr. Publication 1827,1833
Florida	Mar. 3,	27	Yes			Terr.

	1845			Publication 1823,1825,1838
Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	28	Not Known	
Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	29	Yes	Terr. Publication 1839,1842,1843
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	30	Yes	N.W. Terr. Publ. 1833
California	Sep. 9, 1850	31	Not Known	
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	32	Yes	N.W. Terr. Publ. 1833
Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	33	Not Known	
Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	34	Yes	1855,1861,1862, 1868
West Virginia	June 20, 1863	35	Yes	Va. Publ. 1819
Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	36	Not Known	
Nebraska	Mar. 1, 1867	37	Yes	Terr. Publ.1855, 1856,1857,1858, 1859,1860,1861, 1862, State Publ.1873
<u>Colorado</u>	Aug. 1, 1876	38	Yes	Terr. Publ.1861, 1862,1864,1865, 1866,1867, <u>1868</u>
North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	39	Yes	Terr. Publication 1862,1863,1867
South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	40	Yes	Terr. Publication 1862,1863,1867
Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	41	Not Known	
Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	42	Not Known	
Idaho	July 3, 1890	43	Not Known	
Wyoming	July 10, 1890	44	Yes	Terr. Publication

Of the first 24 states, Delaware thru Missouri, all but three have either ratified the Thirteenth Amendment or recognized it in their official publications. New York rejected ratification and we have not uncovered any official New York publications. It is not known whether definitive action was taken in Alabama or if that state had any official publications showing the Thirteenth Amendment.

Christopher Runkel of the National Archives acknowledged in 1994 that Virginia ratifed the original Thirteenth Amendment on March 12, 1819, and the evidence of the ratification by Virginia is the special printing of 4000 copies as part of their organic state laws.

All of the other States, except New York, had either ratified the Thirteenth Amendment or published it as part of their organic state laws before the admission of Arkansas in 1836. By the time Iowa was admitted, the original Thirteenth Amendment had been included in official publications in every state except New York. The State of Rhode Island, which had rejected this Amendment in 1814 included it in their official publication of 1822.

Two copies of the five volume Bioren and Duane publication, "The Laws of the United States of America, from the 4th of March, 1789 to the 4th of March, 1815" are available in the archives of Yale University and we have an excellent set in our possession. In the text of the U.S. Constitution given by Bioren and Duane, on page 74, the "Titles of Nobility" section is listed as Article XIII and the notation given indicates that it was passed out of the Eleventh Congress in the Second Session. The Bioren and Duane edition of 1815 was published by an Act of Congress. This publication, in five volumes, represents the first authorized edition of the Laws of the United States and the U.S. Constitution issued following the destruction of the Library of Congress and the other records of the government by the British army in 1814. The lawmakers then seated as the Thirteenth Congress authorized the spending for this special edition on February 16th, 1815. This was official recognition of the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment by the Congress of the United States of America.

All constructions of jurisprudence rely on the precise meaning of "ratify," i.e., "to approve or confirm, to give formal sanction to," which is precisely what a state or territory does when it publishes its laws and the U.S. Constitution together. These are the foundation documents of our Republic.

We must not forget how expensive it was to make and publish books in the early part of the 1800s, and with what reverence a well-printed book was treated. That so many books from this era have survived is a testament to the skill and dedication of our pioneer printers.

And today, we must never forget the skill and dedication with which our Founders forged the Constitution for the United States in the formation of the Republic of the united States of America to insure Liberty and Freedom and Justice for All!